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special emphasis is laid upon the local designations of the different classes of Lares. We never find, he argues, Lares of persons, but only of places. This is true; but these different classes of Lares are comparatively late, and they are not a safe guide in attempting to reach the original signification of the cult.

Further, on the question of human sacrifice, Wissowa's views will hardly be accepted *in toto*. According to him human sacrifice was not practiced prior to the introduction of Greek rites. As a protest against the tendency, noticeable in so many writers, of explaining all doubtful symbols as significant of an original human sacrifice, this opinion has encouraging aspects, but it cannot be seriously claimed that Wissowa has made out his case, and his theory is certainly *a priori* improbable.

But that there should be in so comprehensive a work much that is open to question goes without saying, and, as we see from the preface, no one is more alive to this fact than the author himself. His aim is not to give a dogmatic treatment of the subject, for in a great majority of the topics with which he has to deal there is no place for dogmatism, but to lay the foundations for further research. It is in order to do this more surely that he refrains entirely from entering the field of comparative religion. That his purpose has been brilliantly accomplished will be the universal opinion, and it may be fairly said that the study of Roman religion has been put on a new basis.

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GORDON J. LAING.

THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND KINDRED LITERATURE.

THE so-called *Testament of Our Lord* was introduced to the readers of this JOURNAL immediately after the appearance of the Syriac edition, in 1899.¹ Not long afterward a thorough investigation into the *Testament* and its kindred literature was published by Professor F. X. Funk, of Tübingen,² and it is strange that this book escaped the notice of the learned editors of the English translation,³ to which it is now my privilege to call attention.

Under the modest title of "Introduction and Notes" is hidden the completed comparison of the *Testament* with the kindred literature;

¹ See Vol. IV, pp. 844-6, of this JOURNAL.

² See Vol. V, pp. 788-90.

³ *The Testament of Our Lord*. Translated into English from the Syriac. With Introduction and Notes by JAMES COOPER AND ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1902. xiv + 269 pages. \$3, net.

and it may be a service to not a few if we try to give a survey of this field.

I must, however, state at the outset that I cannot speak as one who has made this extended field of a most intricate literature the special object of lifelong studies; it is only with some parts of it that I am more intimately acquainted because they are written or preserved in Syriac like the *Testament*; of others I cannot even read the languages. Anew we feel the loss Christian science has suffered by the death of Paul de Lagarde, the only scholar able to survey this whole literature in its original languages, and at the same time the first, who, now fifty years ago, made part of it accessible, only to find that no one even took notice of it, since even now secular newspapers speak of the *Testament* as of an important recent discovery, although Lagarde had published it from a much better codex (in part, at least) in 1854, and translated twice into its original Greek in 1856.⁴

I am convinced that I will serve the interests of readers better by a general survey than by a minute discussion of single points. Concerning the present book it is sufficient to say that the translation and the greater part of the introduction and notes are the work of Canon Maclean, "whose long residence in the East," as the preface states, "on the staff of the archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Assyrian Christians, his knowledge of Syriac, and his experience as the editor of the Syrian *Liturgy of Adai and Mari* combined to give him special fitness for the task." I have not made a thorough comparison of the translation with the original. Occasionally I have noticed some flaws—but whose works are free from them? Not even those of Lagarde. On some passages I think I shall be able to throw a little more light; but I will mention only a few examples.⁵

⁴I have just come across another example of the general neglect into which these studies of Lagarde have fallen. A. Harnack, who is unrivaled in his knowledge of the history and literature of the ancient church, printed in his latest book, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, a special excursus on a council of the apostles, said to have been held at Antioch, and republished its *Canones*, because, as far as he believed, they had not been reprinted since their first publication by Bickell, and states regarding a biblical quotation occurring in them that it has not been verified as yet. Yet they had been published from the very manuscript used by Bickell, by LAGARDE in his *Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimae graece* (1856) as the third document of this important collection (pp. 18–20), and the quotation, too, is there recognized as from Ps. 16 (17): 14; and in 1864 these canons were repeated by PITRA in his *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia ac monumenta*. Tomus I, pp. 89–95 (on the fourth place).

⁵On pp. 90, n. 3; 97, n. 3; 105, n. 9, a Syriac expression formed from the infinitive

But now to the *Testament* itself and its kindred literature. The *Testament*, as is stated in the preface, "is one, and not the least interesting, of a series of writings, whereof the *Didaché* or 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' is the first, and the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* one of the last. Their aim seems to have been to provide the clergy of the early church with a manual of their duties and especially with directions for the proper fulfilment of the office of public worship." This is true ; the *Testament* belongs to the handbooks for the clergy ; is part of the manuals of ecclesiastical life, law, and ethics, and has, as § 3 of the introduction informs us, many parallels in "Church Orders." A full, yet compendious description of them—"the best that has yet appeared"—may be found, we are told (p. 8), in the newly published *Ministry of Grace*, by John Wordsworth. Section 5 discusses the "Theology and Characteristics of the *Testament*," and § 6 its "Date." The latter question is said to be made extremely difficult by its almost complete dependence on internal evidence. "We need not wonder, then, that different writers have ascribed it to different ages." Mgr. Rahmani considers that it belongs to the age of Irenæus, the end of the second century. But no other scholar follows him in it. Dr. Zahn assigns it to about 350 A. D.; Dom Morin dates it not later than that

of the Greek aorist is explained as if it came from the participle. Expressions like "I shall elect," "I shall be elected," are given in Syriac by "I do *χειρονήσαι*," "I am *χειρονηθῆναι*." (Some striking examples for "I do *καθαιρῆσαι*," "I am *καθαιρεθῆναι*" are found in the *Letters of Severus*, just published by E. W. Brooks, 50, 4; 91, 2; 138, 3, 12; 170, 9; 171, 16; 172, 4, 19; 174, 12.) At the beginning of I, 39, we must translate "if anyone becomes martyr or confessor *by being in prison*" (not : confess, that he was in bonds). At II, 4 (p. 124), we must certainly read קִרְבָּנָה "preserver of our lives," instead of קִרְבָּנָה rendered "real presence of our lives." At the end it is said, "John and Peter and Matthew wrote this *Testament* and sent it in copies from Jerusalem by *Dositheus* and *Silas* and *Magnus* and *Aquila*, whom they chose to send (them) to all dioceses." In the notes, page 240, the names are discussed, but without success. Especially on *Magnus* it is avowed that no probable conjecture appears to have been made. Now, when we compare "the teachings of the Apostles through Addai," as published by Lagarde in his *Rel. Syr.*, p. 45, from the same manuscript from which he gave us the first knowledge of the *Testament*, and republished by CURETON, *Documents*, pp. 35, 173, there can be no doubt that this "Magnus" is מַגְנָוָס, mentioned there along with *Aquila* and *Erastus* or אֶרְאָסָטָה, as one of the first disciples of Paul, *i. e.*, *Manæn* of Acts 13:1, and then also "Dositheus" may be Erastus or Aristarchus. This passage, by the way, has first been mentioned by Bickell in his *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* (1843), Vol. I, pp. 184 ff. from a communication of Zenker "Mista (?) von Lystra und *Mennus*." Instead of "Tertullus" Zenker read "Tarbrates," completely misunderstanding the passage. Such performances we must notice if we wish to judge rightly of the merits of Lagarde.

year; Bishop Wordsworth ascribes it to the school of Appollinarius, and names about 400 A. D., with which date on other grounds Harnack agrees; M. Batiffol thinks it is not earlier than the fifth century and may be later; and Dr. Funk, in general, agrees with this. The present editors decide to date it about 350, in the reign of Julian, shortly after 356.⁶

Now, it is dangerous for an outsider like me to enter into discussion with such authorities as these. But I must mention one fact, which seems to have been completely overlooked in all these discussions, owing apparently to the separate publication of the *Testament* by Rahmani, viz., that the *Testament* is handed down to us only as part of a larger work, the "Syrian Octateuch," as it was called by Lagarde. Now, though it may be difficult to come to a decision on the age of the *Testament* on the ground of the evidence afforded by the *Testament* alone, it will be easy to fix the date of this Octateuch. When we look at the contents of the Octateuch, nay, even already, when we hear its name, we are at once reminded of the eight books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, on which this Syriac Octateuch is evidently built up. As early as 1856 a description of its contents has been published by Lagarde in his *Reliquiae Graece*, p. xvii, and he has also shown there its connection with the Egyptian Heptateuch. Another description of it is⁷ to be found in the (old) *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts of Cambridge*, while the new *Syriac Catalogue* by Wright and Cook (1901, p. 1042) refers to an account of these books, which is to be expected from the hand of Dr. Arendzen, of Christ's College. Cooper and Maclean say in the present work, p. 13:

Both the Syriac Octateuch and the Egyptian Heptateuch are probably derived from the *Apostolic Constitutions* (=AC) and treat the matter dealt with in the *Testament* and "Egyptian Church Orders," respectively, twice over, though in different ways, in their early books giving those works, and in the later reproducing the divergent treatment of the same material in AC VIII.

⁶ No mention is made in this list of the date ascribed to the *Testament* by one of the few scholars who took notice of its first publication by Lagarde. In Vol. VIII, Nos. 20-23 of the *Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben* (Berlin, 1857), Dr. E. Boehmer gives a long notice of Lagarde's *Reliquiae* and discusses the date of the *Testament* assigning its apocalyptic prelude to the time of Valerian and Marcian, comparing it with the *Carmen apologeticum* of Commodian. Whether in reviews of Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind* (V, VI) (= *Analecta Antenicaena*, I, II), any notice of it has been taken, I cannot say. This work is so rare in our parts that I sought it in vain at the Royal Library of Stuttgart.

⁷ On account of its occurrence in the "Buchanan Bible."

But before we can approach this question we must give a survey of the pieces of this literature that existed or are supposed to have existed at one time in the various parts of the church. We follow the arrangement of Cooper and Maclean. With Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*, Cooper and Maclean mention

1. Church Orders of the same form with the *Testament*:

- a) *Lost Church Order*, representing the usage of the early Roman church.
- b) *The Canons of Hippolytus* (CH), representing perhaps the Roman Church Order of the first part of the third century.
- c) *The Egyptian Church Order* (Eg. CO), being the second book of the Egyptian Heptateuch.
- d) *The Ethiopic Church Order* (Eth. CO), being the second part of the Ethiopic Statutes, the first part of which statutes is the "Apostolic Church Order."
- e) *The Latin Verona Fragments* published by Hauler (H), containing the Didascalia, Apostolic Church Order, and a Church Order, which forms "a connecting link" with the *Testament* and the rest, and may "with some confidence" be considered "to be a direct source of the former."
- f) *The Testament of our Lord*.
- g) *The Arabic Didascalia*, §§ 35-9 (Ar. D), "either the immediate source or the immediate descendant of the parallel portions in the *Testament*."
- h) *The Constitutions through Hippolytus* (Const. H), usually thought to be a first draft of the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and reproducing part of the "Lost Church Order."
- i) *The Apostolic Constitutions* (AC), in Book VIII, also reproducing large parts of the "Lost Church Order."

2. Other Church Orders :

- a) *The Didaché or Teaching of the Apostles*.
- b) *The Apostolic Church Order*, or *Canones ecclesiastici sanctorum apostolorum*, putting the moral and liturgical contents of the *Didaché* into the mouth of each of the twelve apostles and enumerating Peter and Cephas as different apostles, preserved in at least six languages.

3. *The Didascalia*, preserved in Syriac, partially in Latin, Arabic, and Ethiopic, forming the basis of Books I-VI of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

4. Compilations :

- a) *The Syrian Octateuch*.
- b) *The Egyptian Heptateuch*, or "Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons."
- c) Hauler's *Verona Latin Fragments*.
- d) *The Apostolic Constitutions*.

5. Other Illustrative Literature :

- a) Serapion's *Prayerbook*.
- b) *The Pilgrimage of Silvia* (so-called).
- c) *The Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

Omitting the last division, we count not less than sixteen, or, as the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Verona Latin Fragments* are entered under different sections, fourteen separate entries of Church Orders. This bewildering mass will be clearer by eliminating those which have no independent value. For instance, the Arabic *Didascalia* is certainly nothing but a translation of the Syriac *Octateuch*. An interesting manuscript of the Arabic in the university library of Breslau has been described as early as 1821 by J. A. Theiner. It is a manuscript of the New Testament, but between the epistles of Paul and the Revelation it contains the *Apostolic Canons* and this *Octateuch*. Again, the *Testament* has had, so far as we are aware, no existence independent from this Syriac *Octateuch* and ought to have been treated everywhere as part of it. Again, Book III of this *Octateuch* is identical with the "Apostolic Church Order," while Books IV–VIII correspond, not to the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* itself and the *Apostolic Canons*, as stated on p. 12, but apparently to those parallel texts of AC VIII, styled AC VIII *b*, by Funk, and mentioned by Cooper-Maclean under the *Constitutions through Hippolytus*, and considered by Brightman⁸ as a preliminary draft of the eighth book by the hand of the compiler himself, or an excerpt from such a form. But I do not know whether on the whole it is not better to see in them with Funk merely a reworking of the *Constitutions* and an extract from them. It is a slight drawback that the important publication⁹ of this scholar seems to have escaped the notice of the editors. It is clear that if the views of Professor Funk are adopted, the whole question is changed. What is considered by Achelis and his followers the oldest piece in this literature, the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the *Egyptian Church Order* takes now the last place; and it seems to me that the occurrence of these parallel texts in the Syrian *Octateuch* lends great weight to the views of Professor Funk. However, it does not fall within the limits of this paper to enter into discussion of this question; but I hope to earn the thanks of some readers by putting together some of the literature connected with the *Testament*:

⁸ *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. xvii–xxiv.

⁹ *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften*. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1901. xii + 316 pages. It appeared as Parts I and II of the second volume of the *Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur- und Dogmengeschichte*, edited by A. EHRHARDT and J. P. KIRSCH. Beside this, compare FUNK's article treating expressly of the eighth book of the *Constitutions*, "Zum achten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen und den verwandten Schriften," *Theologische Quartalschrift* (1890), pp. 223–36.

First publication (in part, from Codex 38 San Germanensis in Paris, now 62 in Zotenberg's *Catalogues*) by P. de Lagarde in his *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae syriace*, Vindob., 1856, pp. 1-19; translated into Greek in the *Reliquiae . . . graece*, pp. 80-89, and in Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicanæ*. See E. Boehmer, in *Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, Berlin (1857), Nos. 20-23.

Second publication (in full) by Rahmani (1899); see above.

Articles on Rahmani's publication by :

H. Achelis, in *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1899, cols. 704-6.¹⁰
 P. Batiffol, in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Vol. II, pp. 51-7; and *Revue biblique*, Vol. IX, pp. 258-60.
 A. Baumstark, "Ueberlieferung und Bezeugung der διαθηκη," in *Römische Quartalschrift* (Freiburg), Vol. XIV, Heft 1-2; "Die arabischen Texte der διαθηκη," *ibid.*, Heft 4.
 U. Benigni, in *Bessarione*, Vol. VII (1900), pp. 33-41.
 J. Brucker, in *Etudes publiées par les frères de la compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. 81 (1899), pp. 527-35.
 P. Drews, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Vol. 74 (1901), pp. 141-70.
 F. X. Funk, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. 82 (1900), pp. 161-74; *Der Katholik*, Vol. 80, pp. 1-14.
 O. v. Gebhardt, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (1899), pp. 538 f.
 A. Harnack, in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie* (1899), pp. 878-91.
 H. De Jongh, "Le testament, et les écrits apparentés. A propos d'un récent ouvrage de M. le Dr. F. X. Funk," *Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique*, Juillet 1902.
 W. H. Kent, in *Dublin Review* (1900), pp. 254-74.
 P. Kohout, in *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* (Linz), Vol. LIII (1900), pp. 200-208.
 G. Morin, in *Revue Bénédictine*, Maredsous, Vol. XVII (1900), pp. 10-28.
 Parisot, in *Journal Asiatique*, March, 1900.
 W. Riedel, in *Theologisches Litteraturblatt* (1900), cols. 193-7; 201-5.
 J. Wordsworth, in *Revue internationale de théologie* (Bern), Vol. VIII (1900), pp. 452-72.
 Th. Zahn, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI (1900), pp. 438-50.

A new text of the apocalyptic part of the *Testament* has been published from an independent Syriac version by P. Arendzen in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 401-16, and by F. Nau in the *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. XV (1900), pp. 233-56; also published separately, Paris: Leroux, 28 pages.

A very convenient survey will be found in A. Ehrhardt, *Die altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung, von 1884-1900* (Freiburg, 1900; erster

¹⁰ *Theologische Rundschau* (1902), 199 ff.

Supplementband zu "Strassburger theologische Studien," §87): "die ältesten Kirchenordnungen," pp. 532-9.

On the Didascalia see the literature in Ehrhardt, pp. 523-8 and add :

F. X. Funk, "La date de la didascalie des apôtres," *Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain), Vol. II, pp. 798-809.

C. Holzhey, "Dionysius von Alexandria und die *Didascalia apostolorum*," *Theologisch-praktische Monatsschrift*, Vol. XI, pp. 515-23, The latest editions and translations are :

F. Nau, *Ancienne littérature canonique Syriaque*. Fascicule I: "La didascalie, c'est-à-dire l'enseignement catholique des douze apôtres et des saints disciples de notre Sauveur." Traduite du Syriaque pour la première fois. (Extrait du *Canoniste contemporain*, février 1901 à mai 1902). Paris, 1902; 172 pages.

And last, not least :

Horae Semiticae, No. I: "The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac."

Edited from a Mesopotamian manuscript with various readings and collations of other MSS. by Margaret Dunlop Gibson. London : C. J. Clay and Sons, 1903. x + 236 pages.

Horae Semiticae, No. II: "The *Didascalia apostolorum* in English," translated from the Syriac. *Ibid.*, xviii + 113 pages.

The latest addition is :

Funk, "Ein Fragment zu den apostolischen Konstitutionen," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1903, pp. 195-202. On the fragment printed by Cottier, Grabe (*Spicil.*, 1700, I, 54), Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. extra can.*, IV), Pitra (1301), Jacoby, 1902.

EB. NESTLE.

MAULBRONN, GERMANY.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.¹

THIS is practically a rewritten book. Its two volumes are each nearly equal in dimensions to the entire original work. And the rewriting was well worth while. Our age certainly demands above all things, of those who undertake to interpret Scripture, that they shall give to biblical writings their historic setting. Exegesis must be historical or nothing. None appreciate this demand of the times better than Pfleiderer. Few have done more than he, especially in the study of Paul, to illuminate the text by the depiction of the historic conditions and contemporary thought. Hence his *Urchristenthum* was

¹ *Das Urchristenthum; seine Schriften und Lehren, in geschichtlichem Zusammenhang*, beschrieben von OTTO PFLEIDERER. Zweite, neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Berlin : Keimer, 1902. Band I, viii + 696 pages; Band II, v + 714 pages. M. 24.